FREE SOCIETY

A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

VOL. X. NO. 19. CHICAGO, SUNDAY, MAY 10, 1903. WHOLE NO. 413.

The Election Is Done.

The election is done and the right ones won,
Else why the commotion of frantic appeals,
And appeals that are subtle as sin,
And lies as black as a Negro's face,
And deception as false as a harlot's love?

I am told that the ballot is the bulwark of freedom,
That right comes uppermost where it is freest.
But I see voters with unmanly mien
Skulking in and about the polling booths
Like thieves in the night;
Avoiding their masters political, industrial,
As tho doing some evil thing.
If it be honest, manly, just and effective,
Why sneak like a conscious wrong-doer,
Or a skunk in a farmer's hen-roost,
To do that which press, preacher, public and politician
Say is a proud duty, a moral obligation?
Is it that private conscience preeks with doubt?
Is it that scepticism mistrusts the power of a piece of paper
To change conditions in spite of conscious self-interest?
Is it credence in the faith of personal results
Notwithstanding the barricade of ballots?

They tell me, they who fall by the political wayside,
And who'd account for the want and the woe of the world
In words of wanton weariness
And the wisdom of washerwomen,
That the voters violated good judgment
In the choice of their political masters,
And so the world goes wry,

But I question those whom success
(And the lying figures of an honest count!)
Have helped into the saddle of power:
Why poverty grows in the shadow of institutions born of the ballot?
Why jobbery and robbery and rascality dominate these institutions?
Why the souls of rulers are steeped in rottenness,
And their lives a protest against honest toil and fair dealing?
Why they blow hot here and blow cold there?
Why they say white when 'tis black and black when 'tis white?
Why they tell us they go south, and after election go north?
And in childlike wonderment they gaze at me in my simplicity,—
And wink the other eye!

JOSEPH A. LABADIE.

—— o ——

Magic Power.

People have familiarized themselves with the idea that reason is the motive power of mankind, because progress, discoveries, and inventions are due to it. But in the course of history there have been other forces associated with reason which not seldom become dominant over it. Superstition built itself ten temples sooner than reason a single one. Superstition has given gods and devils reality, reverenced priests and burned witches, while reason has modestly confined itself to self-defense.

It is said that the masses must have religion, that those who rob them of it are doing a great wrong. In reality the masses always have religion, for the reason that every required conviction becomes a religion with them, which neither doubt nor argument dares to approach. As certain ideas which took hold of the imagination of the masses brought about the crusades, self flagellation, the night of Bartholomew, religious wars, and the reign of terror in France, so in modern times there is side by side of the power of reason a magical power, which sometimes emanates from words and sometimes from persons.

A hundred and some years ago the words freedom, equality, and fraternity were a magical power. The best proof of it is that the Jacobins in the name of freedom, as Taine remarks, could inaugurate a reign as coercive as that of Dahomey, an administration of justice like that of the Inquisition, and sacrifice lives as tho they were in Mexico. In the nineteenth century the word fatherland became a magical power, in which name the love of one's country was soon persecuted as a crime in conquered countries or provinces, and the hatred of foreigners preached as a gospel.

The masses everywhere are full of inherited conceptions, and therefore universal suffrage, which is supposed to be revolutionary, is an utterly conservative institution; but whenever the masses are discontented and would like a change, they have the desire, but are easily pacified when old institutions are continued under a new name. They succumb to the magical power of words. In the year 1849 the established Church of Denmark was overthrown. She received a new name—people's Church, and lives ever since under the new and better sounding name, in her old manner.

In our days Socialism is the religion of the laboring masses. Even the term creates a religious sensation; it responds to the strong illusions of the lower strata of society, and is in itself therefore a magical power, at the mention of which it is forgotten to ask, how much or how little up till now has been achieved for the masses. In another strata of society the word Democracy has a similar power; it denotes a good cause—the cause of progress and freedom. "That is not treated democratically," or, "that is not a democratic measure,"—are uttered in the sense of severe criticism. But as there are various kinds of Socialism, there are also different kinds of Democracy. Democratic signifies in Europe the most complete subjection of the individual will (or its criticism and initiative) to the party as a compact multitude; in America it often signifies the strongest development of freedom and the spirit of enterprise of the individual in opposition to the State, which is set back so that it retains only the police and the army under its power. Before the cause of Democracy is sanctified it would perhaps be a good thing to know exactly what is understood by it, or else we may expose ourselves to the danger of becoming ever more hostile to freedom in the name of freedom, and even more conservative in the name of progress.

To the magic power of words add that of the person. It often accomplishes the most improbable things. In ancient Greece or Rome nobody would have believed in the probability (and in Japan and China people are highly astonished) that a carpenter from Galilee would be the almighty God of the last sixteen centuries; whose name even today is appealed to all over Europe and America, if, (officially) something that is good and true—or the contrary, is to be done. In the year 1790 nobody in France would have thought it possible that very soon a simple lieutenant of the artillery would swing himself upwards to the throne, subjugate Europe, reaching out to dominate the world, and treat kings and emperors as his vassals. Thousands and thousands of men went to death for him; the magic power which emanated from him kept them ever charmed. Today we trace such phenomena to hypnosis and suggestion. One could also mention lovers, who are rarely ever disposed to listen to reason. With Napoleon the magic power remained with his name even after death, for only because of his name could the weakling nephew sit upon the throne.

Because we owe to reason all that is good and useful,—from the matches to wireless telegraphy and the electric light, people are inclined to think that that unreasonableness which is concealed in magic power is not apt to achieve more.

If I am accused of exaggeration, I reply, as Tarde once replied: If a philosopher of old Hellas should have nursed the idea that the sun was perhaps as large as the whole Peloponnesus, his best friends would have unanimously declared that there might be some truth in his paradox, but obviously he had exaggerated things.—*George Brandes.* Translated for FREE SOCIETY.

Misconceptions of Anarchism.

A writer in FREE SOCIETY of April 19, under the heading, "Individualism vs. Anarchist Communism," has succeeded in crowding in so much that is untrue in the space of a short note, I cannot pass it unchallenged.

Says the writer: "Individualists are chasing a myth—egoism, while Anarchists know that egoism and altruism are relative terms, 'meaning everything in general and nothing in particular.' Anarchists deny both altruism and egoism as a positive" (force).

Egoism—a myth! Only a mythical ego could say that. Besides, I have yet to see the Anarchist who does not chase this "myth" himself. Indeed, I have had quite an experience in trying to *add* altruism to the "chase," with but scanty success.

"While Anarchists know," etc.—Do they really *know* it? I wonder where those Anarchists got such knowledge from? As far as I know Anarchism and evolutional biology I should say, those Anarchists ought to know if they don't, that both egoism and altruism *are* positive forces in the evolution of psychological life, and that we could not do without them.

At all events, it is a question of biology, and I cannot see what purpose the writer had in denying these two factors any meaning in particular.

"When the Individualist claims," is his next sentence, "that the individual can be free and happy while the rest of mankind is miserably enslaved, the Anarchist questions such philosophy." The negative evidence that I have never heard the Individualist make such claim as a basis for his philosophy may not be conclusive; but that the point is not well taken by the writer, I feel quite sure. It is not probable, but it is certainly possible for some individuals to feel free and happy, even tho the rest of mankind be miserably enslaved. Anyhow, I see no merit in Anarchism questioning such doubtful philosophy,—rather would I question the propriety of taking an opponent at his worst, in order to appear oneself all the more reasonable by contrast.

The writer's next statement is—"Anarchists contend that contracts imply slavery." What a sweeping assertion! *Forced* contracts as we find them today between the starved workmen and his employer are certainly expressions of slavery; but given a condition of equal opportunity, where there is entire freedom of choice for each of the contracting parties, contracts are then *voluntary agreements*, the very foundation of a free society. Free contracts, then, never imply slavery; nay, the very essence of Anarchism is *Voluntaryism*, i. e. society reorganized on the basis of free contract.

Next again comes the following: "Individualists defend private property, while Anarchists claim that property is impossible under freedom." Well, I still cherish the hope that Anarchists will give up this claim, as soon as they start to think for themselves. The more Anarchism is understood, the clearer it appears, that the idyllic fancies of the earlier Communists are not synonymous with Anarchist freedom. As social reformers we are nothing if not logical, since we cannot boast of experimental inductions; and logical reasoning compels us to distinguish between what is an essential and what an accessory in the organization of our ideal society. It is not property, but *privilege* that is impossible under freedom. On the economic side, it is neither Communism, nor Collectivism, nor Individualist competition, but solely *equal opportunity* that is a condition *sine qua non* to the healthy life of a free society.

And altho I personally consider Anarchist Communism a perfect ideal devoutly to be wished for, I cannot help seeing that this ideal is separable into what I would call, the basic principle—Anarchism or Voluntaryism—and one of the economic methods—Communism.

The writer goes on: "The Individualists declare that the laborer should get his full product, while the Anarchists contend that the share of product cannot be determined. . . ." Anarchism never made such contention; but the writer thruout identifies it with Communism, which does contend that the share of each cannot equitably be determined, for reasons, by the way, quite fanciful and not at all conclusive.

Besides, it is rather daring to openly deny the laborer his right to his full product. It is one thing to advocate brotherly love among workers by the way of voluntary Communistic arrangements, and quite another thing to claim that no one has a right to enjoy his labor otherwise than Communistically.

". . . And real freedom can only exist when production and consumption is as free, as are air and sunshine." What freedom does the writer think of? Does he look for freedom from care and anxiety, from responsibility and worry for the morrow; or freedom from social tyranny and the coercive power of majority rule? It is the latter sort only that Anarchism stands for, no matter how sweet and idyllic the former kind may sound to careworn workers of the present. To confound Anarchism with Communism is to create chaos; to define their true limitations is to establish order in our propaganda of education. And if, in order to achieve this desirable consummation, some of our writers will have to shake off a few of the traditional formulas, the sooner they do it, the better for our movement.

J. A. M.

—o—

Problems for State Socialists.

As the productive capacities of individuals would differ in the industrial system of Socialism, just as the intellectual capacities of children now differ in the Socialistic public school system, how could equality be maintained after being artificially established? Would it be by curbing superior ability to the level of average capacity, or would the products of superior natural ability be continuously confiscated by society?

Could the single man quit work when his personal needs were supplied while the man with a large family of small dependent children would be compelled to work on? If the single man could be compelled to assist in feeding and clothing the children of others, as he is now compelled to help pay for their schooling, would this not conflict with the Socialistic assertion that every worker would have the full product of his toil?

Is existing property to be confiscated or purchased by the State? If it is to be purchased, how are proceedings to be instituted? To purchase anything is to acknowledge its ownership by the possessor and his right to define the terms of sale. Having nothing to exchange for this property, what would the State Socialists do? Would they oust all property owners from private possession, including the proprietors of small farms and humble cottages, and take possession of everything, issuing to the former owners, whom they had dispossessed of their holdings, bonds based for security, on the value of the seized property? If it is right for a political party or government to do this, why is it not right for individuals to do the same thing? Can society transform a private crime into a public virtue?

Since industrial equality cannot exist without social equality, how could white men and colored men cooperate with the present race prejudice prevailing? If the colored race should see equality thru State Socialism, few white men would be Socialists. The question is not whether this antipathy is right or wrong, nor is it one concerning the probable status of the races in the far-off future, it is a question of cooperative equality during the twentieth century, in which it is predicted by Socialists that Socialism will prevail.

If a Socialistic government should be established, based on majority rule, with that majority composed of working-men now associated with the labor unions, what would be the fate of those who were not Socialists? Would they be persecuted by this ruling majority as the non-union working-men are now persecuted by the labor unionists who outnumber them? If so, then dissenters and progressionists of all kinds would be worse off than they are under the present government. To dodge this vital question by pleading that a change of environment will make these tyrannical men liberal is equivalent to declaring that a hog will not remain pork if he is allowed to come into the parlor.

LEROY CUMMINGS.

—o—

Kropotkin's Letter to the Commune Meeting.

Dear Comrades.—I am so sorry that the state of my health prevents me from being with you tonight.

It is always good to refresh one's energy by the commemoration of the glorious fight which the working men of Paris fought, thirty-two years ago, against the united forces of international capitalism.

The more so now when we enter a period of general awakening of the working-men of all nations; when the ideas of international solidarity amongst laborers of all nations and all trades are so loudly proclaimed, and so well practised, as they have been during the last twelve months.

The spirit of the old International Workmen's Association, which has made the Paris Commune, is alive once more. It is that spirit which has breathed in the general strikes at Barcelona, at various smaller towns of Andalusa, in Belgium, at Geneva in Holland.

It is that same spirit and that same enthusiasm which have inspired downtrodden working men—Poles, Jews, and Russians—in Poland and in Western Russia at Rostoff, and so on.

The same spirit which has inspired the Dock Laborers' Federation in their menace of boycotting Dutch commerce if the Dutch government dares to take its measure for paralysing the strikes. That same spirit which breathed in the great coal strike of America, a strike which has shown the powers of united labor and the weakness of the capitalist State.

The same spirit, again, which inspires the great, deep and powerful movement that goes on in France for preparing the general strike. Its possibility has been proved. Its significance is self-evident. This is why it is so dreaded by middle classes. The general strike is not yet the Social Revolution. Surely it is not. But it is the act which will unite the workers, the act which will divide society into two camps—those who work and those who don't; and will put the great problem of work and exploitation before mankind in all its nudity, free of all political tinsel.

Thirty-two years have not passed in vain, especially in the Latin countries. A new Commune movement is already ripe. The lesson of the Commune:—Act for yourselves, and let the others follow. Do not order, but preach by example. This lesson has been understood by the proletarians. The other lesson—Communalize, without delay, what is necessary for life and work—begins also to be understood.

Both—let us hope and work for that—will soon be put into action.

—o—

Anarchy vs. Protection.

George Macdonald is out again on the alleged absurdity of Voltairine de Cleyre's not wanting Helcher imprisoned. I am sorry to see he has taken to writing the language of *Reed's Isonomy;* which is by no means an improvement upon English. This prevents my giving more than a very brief notice to George's shaky Shakespeare. "All men kill the thing they love," he quotes—I suppose from the Merchant of Venice. If I should say it actually reads.

BASSANIO. Do all men kill the things they do not love?

SHYLOCK. Hates any man the thing he would not kill?

I might be told as on a former occasion, that I could not understand a joke. So I had better own up that I cannot—when it is in Isonomish. My knowledge of that language is too imperfect. However, he proceeds to ask in tolerably intelligible phraseology—for English and Isonomish have really considerable parts in common—whether a good Anarchist must stand as an uncomplaining target for fools to shoot at, and refuse to take any measures for restraining the marksman when hit? No, but Anarchists mostly know a little about the psychology of crime. They keep up with the age. They read writers like Lombroso; who, tho not themselves Anarchists, have contributed greatly to the philosophy of Anarchism. An Anarchist, consequently, is apt to know that there is nothing gained by "restraining" the perpetrator of an "impulsive" crime, like Helcher's, inasmuch as he is no more likely to commit another than anybody else—perhaps less. The law—the traditional practise of our ancestors, who were ignorant barbarians,—is our inheritance from the ignorant and barbarous past. Accordingly, it knows nothing about truths like these. Its treatment of criminals is the principal cause of their numerousness, dangerousness, and incurability. I will not enlarge on this now, having done so very lately, in the fifth section of my "Vindication of Anarchism" in FREE SOCIETY. But I have surely given reason enough there why Anarchists should not seek protection from the law. If this be the principle on which G. E. M. thinks society could not "be run" long without needing apologies to dead victims of the system—I think he is mistaken.

C. L. JAMES.

—o—

A Rejoinder.

Since Comrade Grossman has shown me in last week's FREE SOCIETY that I have been rambling in the wilderness in the realm of psychological mysteries, and has recalled to my mind the idea that we are all poor sinners, and therefore should pass no judgment upon our brothers, which had slipped my thought since I attended the Sunday school, I have repented. I now ask forgiveness of those on whom I have heaped abuse and judgment; as for instance Judge Gary, who brought our comrades to the gallows; Frick, who had toilers shot down; Louis XVI, who had hundreds of little girls dragged to his so-called deer-park in order to gratify his morbid desires, and got rid of them after they matured; the Russian czars, who outrage women by threatening death or imprisonment; or the Messalinas, who had their "lovers" murdered after the pangs of sexual "starvation" had been gratified. I see clearly now that these poor creatures were simply mere "consequences" who "succumbed" and "yielded" to the "unjust and intolerant demands" of the feminine sex, or *vice versa* (a philosophy which, I think, Adam invented after he had "succumbed" to the "unjust demands" of Eve). And since it is really the wicked girl who inflicts "great stress" and agony upon the "sexually starved man" with "confessions of a noble nature," or, as Comrade Grossman lucidly reasons, they were won thru a lie and thus they had been digging their own fate (a profound argument indeed!), I shall never again stigmatize the "inhuman" brute as a "rascal,"—provided Comrade Grossman steers me safely thru that labyrinth of confusion, his would be Nietzschean or metaphysical philosophy.

From the conglomoration of his arguments, the greater part of which have no bearing upon the question at issue, I gather that there is no such thing as good or bad, right or wrong, tho he repudiates and resents the act of the man. But why repudiate if our acts are neither "good nor bad"? The man "is not a rascal," he asserts, but is "inhuman," which is also "classifying" men, and is a worse stigma than the term rascal, for the rascal is still human, while the "inhuman" man is not. He uses the adjective "noble," from which I judge that he also acknowledges its antipode "ignoble," thus dividing society into noble and ignoble folk. He tells me that we have no right to pass judgment upon the acts of our fellow men, yet he passes judgment upon me for calling the man a rascal. And, to make confusion worse confounded, he asserts that "might is right," and in the same breath insists that I had no right to call the man a rascal; and here he cooperates with my legal partner—the judge—and convicts *me* of degrading myself. He even passes judgment upon my motives. Indeed, great are metaphysical puzzles, and I hope that Comrade Grossman will rescue his philosophy from this entanglement of contradictions, otherwise the discussion is wasting space and ink.

To call a man a rascal, because he acts differently from what we would, is setting up a moral standard, he again asserts. Now I admit that a moral standard enforced by the police club is incompatible with freedom; but since he calls the man "inhuman," and by implication admits that there are also ignoble men, he, too, is setting up a moral standard according to his own logic.

Nobody has a right (suppose he has the might?) to pass judgment upon the way in which "I acquire" sexual gratification, he says. Not being versed in metaphysics, I will concede for the sake of the argument that this may be correct; but I do know that, should he attempt "to acquire" that gratification by way of rape, within my reach and hearing, I should pass judgment in a manner which would quickly restore him to his normal senses, all metaphysical philosophies notwithstanding.

In conclusion let me say that I have not uttered a single word on sexual relationship as such. It was the deliberate *lie* the man employed to "acquire" gratification, and then left the victim in her agony helplessly on the street, without showing the least sympathy or accepting any responsibility, after his passion had cooled down and he had had ample time for sober contemplation, that I was considering.

But there are others as deeply in the fog as myself, and Comrade Grossman will do the Anarchist philosophy a great service by clearing the minds of Comrade Kropotkin, for instance, who answers those who claim that men are obeying the need of nature, in hating the man who lies and is still more venomous than the animal, and Comrade James who calls Mrs. Eddy a "vile imposter," of their delusions.

As to the definition of the term "rascal," I refer Comrade Grossman to the Standard Dictionary, in whose sense I used the term, and that only provisionally, *i. e.*, if no outward circumstances,—nothing but "inhumanity,"—prevented the man from proffering his sympathy to the girl.

A. I.

P. S.—Since the above was written Comrade Grossman has issued another riddle in *Die Fackel*, of which he is the editor. Speaking of a man who had slandered him in a public meeting, he says: "I hereby declare that this wretch . . . is an *infamous, low backslider, and an all-around rascal.*" And this after he has told us that "it will never do to call a man a rascal when we ourselves are such," or, "because there is no class of good or bad man, of rascals or non-rascals." It is evident that so long as he indulges in such incongruities of thought, and takes no pains to make logical applications from his own premise, the discussion will be of no value; for metaphysicians teach nothing if they are not at least logical.

A. I.

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

Published Weekly by.....*A. ISAAK.*

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 407 PARK AVE., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago post office as second-class matter, October 29, 1901.

The publishers as such are not necessarily in agreement with any opinions expressed by the contributors.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, MAY 10, 1903.

413

If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, your subscription expires with this number.

ANARCHY—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal, absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

Notes.

All exchanges and correspondents should note our new address, and direct mail to **407 Park Ave.**, instead of 331 Walnut.

* * *

It is announced that "Modern Science and Anarchism," by Peter Kropotkin, translated from the Russian original by David A. Modell, will be published immediately by the Social Science Club of Philadelphia. For details see page 8.

* * *

Society has not yet reached its ideal state, one in which money will no longer be used, and where everything will be free for everyone. If the comrades who read FREE SOCIETY would effectively work for that ideal condition, let them remember that one of the means to the great end is the support of the journals which devote themselves to the advocacy of liberty. Prompt payment of subscriptions is genuine and effective propaganda. Are you with us?

* * *

To anyone sending us $2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House" or his new work "The Wholesome Woman." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and $2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

—o—

Outpost Echoes.

While they are hunting the Baer, it is almost certain, since they are using legal means, that the hunt will end in the escape of the Baer.

* * *

There is an impending famine in Spain, the crops having been almost ruined. The Anarchists are said to be active. Those Spaniards who will yet become Anarchists will have starvation for a teacher now, whose lessons succeed where all others fail.

* * *

Officialism is doing all it can to poison the spirit of unionism, it has sent forth an edict to the effect that no strikes are to be inaugurated without the permission of the central body. As ever, the "servants" will rule the "masters" in this new move.

Bryan is still demanding that the Democratic party remain true to the principles of the Kansas City platform; which, in the present condition of things, is very much as tho some modern Christian should insist that his fellow Christians remain faithful to the platform of the Sermon on the Mount.

* * *

The *Coming Nation* is again having a taste of trouble, the postoffice having administered another little dose of late. What would a State Socialist postoffice do with FREE SOCIETY, which opposes State Socialism, the State, and all the offices? Would the paper be likely to have second class privileges?

* * *

May Day witnessed the beginning of strikes all over the world, the one against the reaper trust in Chicago especially interesting us of the west. A unique strike, that of the laundry girls, is attracting attention and interest, chiefly because of the determined stand taken by the young women, who are willing to remain out all summer rather than submit to slavery and extortion. This is the spirit which makes men, *and women.*

* * *

The enabling act in the Illinois legislature was met by a disabling act at the hands of speaker Miller and his doughty minions, and yet the people are crying "outrage!" and hinting at bribery. If they could but see that the power of legislative votes is solely the result of a test of strength, and has no relation to right or justice, they could then further realize that it really does not matter whether we are ruled with clubs or votes. But this might lead to further dangerous thoughts.

* * *

It is reported that there are so many desertions from the kaiser's army that that august person has instructed the officers to shoot deserters on the spot. If there are many such dastardly deeds as that of a German lieutenant, who recently killed a soldier with a sword thrust because he had not "been properly saluted," it is not to be wondered at that the kaiser's army is dwindling in numbers. This suggests a new definition of the word deserter: viz., one who has leased his hands to murderers, but who later breaks the lease.

* * *

General Miles went to the Philippines to investigate the alleged grave condition of affairs in those islands, and his report was so damning, and by implication so full of ironical reflection upon the "honor of the army" that secretary Root has kept it hidden from the people till now, and only makes it public in answer to unmistakable evidences of public impatience. General Miles accuses the "honorable" army of so much murder and torture that none but those like himself, who have gone to school to murder and torture and learned the "arts of war" at their feet, can, it would seem, believe that an army may have any other honor than the honor of liars, hypocrites, thieves, and assassins.

* * *

The final argument against Anarchism is that it expresses too great a degree of faith in men, and the *Union Leader*, in speaking of FREE SOCIETY blames nothing, apparently, in its pages, except the trust in humanity which is implied in the general run of its articles. Two replies at least offer themselves in rejoinder to this old, yet ever new pessimism: the one is, that human progress is a fact, and that in all other directions save one, progress has already gone an astonishingly long way toward its goal; the other being, that every expedient except liberty having been tried as a solvent of social difficulties, the application of liberty should soon be in order in the mere economy of energy. Anarchists may dream, but they test their dreams by their waking experiences.

* * *

Those political party organizations which declare themselves Socialist are meeting for the hundredth time trouble in the shape of reformers who wish to impose their individual views of morality upon the party and have them written into the platform, so to speak. Martha More Avery objects to Atheists and free-lovers as being not worthy to be Socialists. Poor, "virtuous" woman! But logically as a State Socialist she is justified in her attitude. There is no dividing line between what the State should and what it should not do, if its object is the *positive* well-being of the people. Mrs. Avery feels, and rightly, that a majority once got for an opinion, straightway it becomes the duty of the State to make it law. Anarchism, if it had no other recommendation, would have this important one, that under it no given set of opinions could be forced upon anyone. The free-lover, the celebate, the Atheist, the Christian, each would be free to live in his own way. The State Socialists are trying to hide the issue by disciplining Mrs. Avery.

* * *

Captain Dreyfus has appealed for a reopening of his case, which calls to mind the fact that the French authorities did all they could to suppress investigation, and thanks to the assistance of the judiciary, succeeded, till Zola gave his powerful aid to the wronged Jew. Not by appealing to the law, to the courts, did Dreyfus get the ear of justico, but by appealing to France, to the world; first thru the lips of the great novelist and then by the efforts which those few made who came to the side of the intrepid Zola. Even then things were looking dark for him till the suicide and confession of Colonel Henry forced the deceived French people to ask for an investigation. The courts will never exonerate Alfred Dreyfus; he must remain satisfied with their former verdict, which leaves him free, but still charged with crime.

* * *

The taxation of the people of India is so severe that famines occur periodically, and are followed by the plague, which is now killing about 30,000 weekly. When the British government stole India, it built railroads, established public works, settled an army in the country, and spent money in many ways, money borrowed from English capitalists at high rates of interest. The inhabitants of India are paying the interest

upon this debt now, and since they are not a commercial people, but in the main live a simple agricultural life, the railroads, the great bridges, the public works, and all the rest are not extensively utilized. Add to this the fact that an army is living upon them, while a vast crowd of foreigners are filling the public offices and positions and are being paid by the people's money, and it is not hard to see what "enlightened and benevolent government" has done for India. Time was when the droughts did not result in famine, as the people stored up in good years food for the bad years which were sure to come; but with all wealth taxed away to pay for what is not needed, and with their cattle taken when famine has left them nothing else, the people of India die by the millions from famine and the plague. But capital must have its cent per cent, and the good British government makes sure that the blood money is paid. Great is the State!

* * *

The Socialist mayor of Sheboygan gave an inaugural address in which his opportunism made itself manifest in quite a striking degree, while "the class war" seemed almost forgotten. Among other things he said:

> As long as the competitive system is still in vogue we are forced to obey existing customs and laws until such time as we shall have control of the legislative powers in the state and nation.

How good he promises to be! But listen to another jewel of truth which fell from his lips:

> In conclusion, permit me to state that while I deem it my imperative duty to assist in the laying of the corner stone of a higher and more humane form of civilization for the benefit and welfare of this and coming generations, I am also aware of the fact that I am under obligation and that I have duties to perform equal imperative for the present generation.

And this is the movement which is bringing on the revolution! The "class conscious proletariat" is moving towards victory as fast as compromise and denial of principle can take it.

* * *

A Chicago justice of the peace, speaking in court to a man whose wife had left him for a lover, advised the husband to shoot the "destroyer of his home" on sight. The idea of property in human beings still lingers in inferior minds. The justice (?) further declared that if the husband were to shoot his wife's lover no jury could be got to convict him. Such talk from the judicial bench is common; but, let it be noted, such talk is subversive of the very law which judges are pledged to maintain; nay, it incites to a crime, murder, which in the eyes of the law is worse than any other crime. The savage, monopolistic instincts which man has inherited from his brute ancestry are for some time to come sure to hold their places in human esteem as evidences of "honor" and "manhood." Meanwhile there is the law on the subject; which is a farce.

* * *

H. G. Wells, the scientific (?) romancer, is following the lead of Bellamy, and takes his entertaining dream seriously. He finds much to condemn in society, but our economic conditions he leaves unscathed. When did a real romance ever do more than toy with science? AMERICUS.

Among Ourselves.

Thos. Griffiths, Montreal, Canada.—FREE SOCIETY to my mind is one of the few papers on this continent that make a serious effort to face the social difficulties that beset us, and every issue is a thought provoker. But I sometimes think it would be better if the name was changed, as there seems to be a fear to handle the paper since the McKinley episode, and many people associate FREE SOCIETY with violence.

When we published *The Firebrand* many well-meaning readers urged us to change its "evil-sounding name." Owing to difficulties with the postal department the name was changed, but the odium has remained, and nothing but the penetrating light of Anarchist thought can remove the darkness of ignorance.

After the "McKinley episode" a liberal-minded clergyman suggested to me not to call ourselves Anarchists. "Your ideas are grand and noble, but the name has such a bad sound to the public," he said. "About two thousand years ago," I retorted, "there were the Christians with noble ideas. Yet they were charged with all that was vile: arson, murder, robbery, etc. Do you think they would have fared better under a different name?"

"No!" said he after a moment's reflection. "Keep the name, for it is only ignorance that hates you folks. Perhaps some day I shall be strong enough to be with you." A. I.

* * *

T. G. M., Montreal.—You may not hear much of the growth of free ideas from Canada. On the other hand I can assure you that politics among the workers is stagnant. DeLeon Socialism is practically dead, and the other governmental Socialists are making a sorry fight, public ownership of municipal franchises being the only phase of political Socialism that is likely to make further progress, while the quiet, unobtrusive, but none the less certain spread of the ideas that FREE SOCIETY stands for, goes on.

* * *

Gertie Vose, Home, Wash.—My dear old friends,—I see my dollar has run out and will send another to help keep the bark sailing over the troubled waters, for verily there is trouble for all who are attempting to cut loose from the old moorings. . . . Occasionally there are seekers after free love drop in on us expecting to meet with unearned success or favors, not being able to comprehend our ideas of freedom in love, they soon weary of the camp and seek elsewhere for relief, oftentimes misrepresenting our manner of living, which some fear may cause us trouble. I for one feel it about time to cease ducking, doctoring, and taking any more red-tape pills with their lovely promises and lies. I came here in order to escape the nuisance—to enjoy all the freedom I can assimilate; to breathe the sweet atmosphere of love and spontaneity and not be fenced in by the narrow confines of Church and State. Just as long as we allow our principles to trail in the dust, just so long are we acknowledging defeat, and not the right to be free—too weak to claim our rightful inheritance. To submit humbly to the indignities authority pleases to heap upon us speaks illy for our mental and moral status. As long as we permit one single letter of our rights to be invaded without protest, just so long will we be bowed under the load of our own choosing. Do we not admit our bondage and inability to choose our manner of living every time we weaken and go over to the enemy's camp. We all must know this injustice—oppression and robbery has gone too far for the legal thieves to loosen their hold on us of their own volition. What's the use for us to talk of a freer and nobler life if we are going to grow faint at the first low rumblings of the coming storm? I do not advocate violence except in self-defense, or parading our colors unnecessarily; but I believe we have reached a turn in affairs when we have either got to rise in our own defense by our very best thoughts and deeds, or else sink to the level of good law-abiding citizens. . . . If our lives are consistent with our ideals why should we hasten to cover them up with wordy apologies? If it is something to be sneaking about, to hide, it shows we are ashamed to live openly. . . . When the desire for freedom is so strong that it urges us to action, then we will conquer. We may think we crave it and blame "the powers that be" for not obtaining it; but when we are filled with a burning desire for freedom the way will be opened, and we shall take it. The storm gathers, and it will be a terrible one unless the hand of greed is released from the throats of its victims. How will it end?

—— o ——

Here and There.

BELGIUM.—Before long the Anarchists and independent Socialists will hold a conference for the purpose of publishing Anarchist literature.

FRANCE.—The national congress of the Socialist party at Bordeaux occupied itself chiefly with Millerand, the ex-minister of commerce. He was justly impeached by the less uncompromising element of having betrayed the laboring classes when he was in power, and his exclusion from the party was demanded. But the majority (ignorance) ruled, and he remained in the party.

The thirty-second anniversary of the Paris Commune was celebrated all over France, and more than two thousand meetings were held to glorify the occasion.

The Marseilles dock laborers are contemplating to going strike for a nine-hour day. Thus success is almost certain.

Gotz, the Russian, who was arrested in Naples by order of the Russian government, is still in prison. The charge that he is an accomplice of Balmashev, who assassinated the Russian minister Sipiagium, is absurd, for Goetz lived at that time in Paris. The Anarchists and Socialists of Italy have combined in protesting against his arrest and extradition. PAUL CERRILLON.

HOLLAND.—Not to lose popularity, the Social Democrats are now busy assuring the workers that they are not against the general strike. One of their leaders said recently in a mass-meeting: "It is not true that we are against the general strike; we are only against a general quitting of work. Just think of it, what would happen if all the workers should quit working! Where would we find something to eat then?" We heard the same utterance in a Chicago Socialist meeting recently.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

VII (continued.)

Religion, properly so called, occupies an entirely different field from knowledge; so that they can never come in collision. But superstition is confined to no field; and its great defeats by knowledge occurred at the very points where it was most in the habit of posing under the name of religion. Accordingly the inductive philosophy, as elsewhere shown, has had to fight for toleration against dogmas as often as it invaded new territory. But it does not antagonize the dogmas, as such. So far as they would have peace, it always ignored them until lately, when it began to lay the foundations of a really durable "reconciliation" by explaining them. Their disappearance before it has been mainly due to indirect influence. Thus witchcraft, the most terrible and, except belief in the duty of persecuting the most noxious among superstitions, has never been disproved directly, and was not even shaken by direct methods till insanity became a subject for scientific study, which was long after educated people had ceased to believe in witches. By showing that hail, thunder, murraines, and other phenomena formerly attributed to the devil were natural, (5) science destroyed fear of the devil's supposed agents; and the nail was clinched by daily evidence that they ceased to be formidable in proportion as they ceased to be feared. Similarly, the progress of knowledge has sown in the minds of thinkers a growing indisposition to believe that the protection of government is necessary or even beneficial: (6) and this scepticism will ripen into general confident disbelief because experience will show that in proportion as people learn to dispense with such protection they not only get rid of its manifest inconveniences but cease to suffer evils which it causes under pretense of preventing them. Of course, then, too much must not be demanded of the Anarchist. Any such objection to his doctrine as that it is not scientific because not quantitatively exact, would be no better than a quibble. No science is quantitatively exact, at first. Even mathematics began with the empirical arts of the carpenter and the peddler. Moreover, as Herbert Spencer shows in his Essay on the "Filiation of the Sciences," there is no line between science and "other" knowledge, but only between stages of knowledge or science, whichever we choose to call it. First, attempts to do something are made. Then observation comes to aid experiment and be aided by it. When facts accumulate beyond a certain point, their number, becoming inconvenient, suggests classification, which implies, however, obscurely, hypotheses concerning genetic relation; and thus knowledge, hitherto purely empirical, passes into a higher stage. At last we (sometimes) discover exactly uniform that is quantitative relations among phenomena; when science becomes mathematical, and the effect of a physical operation, like electrolysis, can be foretold as absolutely as that of an arithmetical one, like adding up the debtor and creditor columns, which (if themselves correct) will surely balance. (7) But to despise any lower degree of knowledge would be to erect an impassable barrier in our way to this highest. (8) The physical causes of the phenomena once attributed to witchcraft are by no means quantitatively known. But as every educated man feels sure that "witchcraft" is a psychiatry, and may console a panic-stricken community by saying, "Let the witches alone, and you will find them harmless;" so the Anarchist conceives he can prove that the evils government is alleged to prevent resolve themselves (with many others) under two heads,—those on which it has no effect, and those it makes. To half-persuaded persons who partly see this but shrink from so bold an experiment as he proposes, he will say, "Pluck up a little more courage, and try whether the remediable evils which you fear are not remedied by fearing them no more!" The hopeful feature of our present situation is that such people are becoming very numerous!

A statement of the principal ways in which Science has undermined the superstition of governmentalism must doubtless have largely the nature of a recapitulation. Archaeology and Comparative Sociology are studies of yesterday, very far from quantitative or predictive. But their methods are unquestionably scientific. They have accumulated a vast assemblage of facts, and finding them separately unmanageable, have classified them on principles constantly approaching nearer accuracy. We may be said to know the laws governing derivations of words, (9) emblems and cus-

(5) So complete has been the change in our way of looking at such things that many a reader may actually require to be assured our ancestors in Shakespeare's time, and later, believed silly old women to ride about at night on broomsticks, thru the air; to cause thunderstorms; to have carnal intercourse with the devil, who had previously fiddled to them in form of a goat or a dog; to take off their skins and put on those of wolves, in which they sallied forth to destroy sheep; to dig up the dead; to suck the breath of children; to sail in sieves, eggshells, acorn cups; to change their members into those of toads, or rats; (they could make themselves none, this being an act of creation possible only for God; hence, if the witch turned herself, or, rather, the devil turned her, into a rat, it must be "a rat without a tail"). Yet all this was believed by poets like Shakespeare and Milton, statesmen like James I, heroes like Cromwell and Wallenstein, skeptics like Cardan, scientists like Sir Thomas Browne, jurists like Hale, scholars like Wesley. And, from their point of view, legitimately. The evidence, preserved in trial documents, would seem to ourselves overwhelming, if it referred to anything else. (See Lecky's "Rationalism.") That feeling of extreme absurdity which usually prevents our considering the evidence or even being aware that it exists, is wholly due to the beliefs having gone out of fashion, and that is wholly due to proof that phenomena once supposed diabolic, are natural. No such proof was familiar to the Anglo-American heroic age. The Pilgrim Fathers and the cuirassiers of Naseby dwelt, like Polynesian savages, under the black cloud of infernal terrors. Satan hurled thunderbolts at their heads, his imps pursued them with the arrows of smallpox and plague; and the remedy was not lightning-rods, vaccination or anti-toxin, but, as our Christian Scientists would now desire, prayers, and fruits meet for repentance—such as hanging witches.

(6) I hope never to be ashamed of learning from anyone who can teach me. I freely acknowledge, therefore, that one of my instructors in Anarchism was the old Chicago Times. In the days of its greatness this then popular daily seldom appeared without an editorial ridiculing and exposing the absurdity of some expectation from "papa government," "the Omnipotent Goodness at Washington," etc. It strongly advocated the Single Tax, on grounds very similar to those afterwards taken by Henry George. The grounds are mainly good, whatever may be thought of the conclusion. This sort of bourgeois Anarchism has been checked by the panic which a more thoro and consistent kind began to cause about 1886. But it will revive. Among Anarchistic principles which the Times advocated with great persistency and ability, and which many persons, not at all Anarchists, see to be desirable, one was abolition of all laws for the collection of debts. Gambling debts, the only kind which the law enables the debtor to repudiate, are the only kind which no one ever does repudiate. The reasons are evident. Credit is a convenience which all men frequently seek. The foundation of credit is observation that contracts are fulfilled, not, indeed, by any means always, but often enough to make trusting generally worth while. That they are not always discharged faithfully is a reason for discriminating. In the absence of law for collection of debts, the man who fails to pay one debt cannot contract another. But with this beneficent operation of Nature, the supreme lawgiver, whose statutes alone have the admirable property of executing themselves, human legislation operates as an impertinent and mischievous interference. Knowledge that debts can be collected by suit at law, makes men trust, when otherwise they would not. Knowledge that creditors rely on that gives a dishonest debtor assurance in asking credit, which not infrequently goes so far that he actually commands it, because he is already deep in debt. Reversing the natural order of business, he buys on tick because tradesmen reason that a man with so much (mortgaged) property must be rich; and compels the founders of his fortune to keep on backing him, because he has wronged them so much that the revenge of making him bankrupt cannot be afforded. As to the final collection by suit, it is good for lawyers, bad for poor debtors, and worst of all for the creditor class. The classic instance is furnished by the banking system. A broker who would not be worth an accommodation if he stood on his own feet, receives the savings of the industrious poor, because he has a charter, which, however carefully guarded, does not prevent banks from breaking; and when they do that, we know who receives what resources they turn out to possess! The moral evils of such a system need no comment. The financial are enough to condemn it.

(7) Since all branches of physics, when carried far enough, thus prove to be mathematically deducible from universal properties of Matter, which, according to one of Faraday's experiments, appear to rest on Force, not Energy, as some philosophers afraid of "anthropomorphism" have alleged; there seems much probability that Positive Philosophy will at last coalesce with Speculative in demonstration of Idealism. For Force is the objective correlative of Will; and Quantity, the mathematical substantia, is "an operation in which both operator and operand derive all their significance from its own law," i. e., a pure creation of thought. To resolve force into quantity, as Pythagoras proposed, would, therefore, identify the macrocosm with the microcosm.

(8) Thus quacks are always triumphing over doctors, because (unlike their own "Indian medicines") vaccination and anti-toxin neither are, nor are alleged to be infallible. But whoever aspires to improve the doctors' methods must begin by acquiring their knowledge, which is "rough on" the quacks. A premature attempt at raising any science to the deductive stage is a retrogression from Baconian methods, and may gravely delay real knowledge. The classic instance is the Economy of Ricardo and MacCulloch, fifty years ago considered almost as perfect as astronomy: but now falling into well deserved discredit, principally thru the demonstrations of the Historical School.

(9) It is melancholy to see how orthodox prepossession can make a savant like Rawlinson approach the borders of dishonesty rather than admit a discovery whose results might be troublesome. Cautioning his readers, justly enough, against thinking a person who gave his name to a race, place, or institution, must needs be fabulous, he observes with ostentatious carelessness that Judah, Levi, and some other Hebrew names, are not examples of eponymy, despite Jew, Levite, etc. I am not prepared to say whether they are or are not; but I am that an etymologist can see Constantinople is derived from Constantine, and Roma is not derived from Romulus. To compare with

toms, by an induction far too extensive to be fundamentally erroneous. Comparative Sociology, then, teaches, as we have seen, that the origin of authority is in the savage's superstitious reverence for the traditions of his clan. Long before there were kings, and before legislation against real crime was dreamed of, the barbarian held it "a fault" to do such things as break one meat bone against another; he was persuaded that these violations of taboo required utu; and what he expected of his earliest magistrates was, accordingly, that they should enforce regulations in which no civilized man sees any sense. For empirical proofs of this we may refer to our first section. But the nail is clinched; the true origin and the irrational character of savage law, that is, of common law, all derived from the customs of barbarians, is shown to be not merely ordinary but necessarily universal, when we have probed by study of heredity into the mind of the barbarian, and found these follies to be traits of that imitativeness, in respect to which he resembles the ape, while we, tho in lessening degree as we learn the wisdom of aiming at some purpose in our actions, do also resemble him. Monkeys wash their hands and faces in pitch, and thus are captured, because they have just seen a man wash his hands and face in water. Matuthias' warriors would not fight on the Sabbath, and so were taken in the snare of their enemies, because it was not orthodox custom to do anything on the Sabbath. The conventionalities which enslave mankind are, accordingly, very different from those habits displayed by most other social animals. A swarm of bees can no more give reasons for storing honey than an Indian tribe for always drinking from one side of a gourd when they go to war, and from the other after they return. But natural selection has fixed the bees in a habit necessary to their preservation. It was not natural selection which taught barbarians customs often handed down to their civilized posterity, (10) and successively discarded as experience teaches that they tend towards ruin instead of preservation. It was the general propensity to act together; which, in the main, may have been established by natural selection, but in details like these is merely foolish—an instinct probably at one time needed to keep the horde united, but certainly aberrant and degenerative from the day it began to conflict with that curiosity and that originality of private judgment which are necessary to any improvement. (11)

But tho the spirit or germinal principle of authority is thus the proto-human instinct of limitation, which becomes the barbarian idolatry of clan traditions, all particular forms of government originate in usurpation. This doctrine is expounded with unrivalled felicity in old Hobbes' book, the "Leviathan." That Hobbes did not immediately convince mankind of it—that the social contract theory and other fallacies disposed of in our first section, continued to be popular long after his time—is simply because the eighteenth century lacked that archaeological information which should be familiar to the twentieth. Wherever, in the early history of nations, we find a king, priest, or prophet, assuming the role of legislator, there we find one who assuming, justly or not, to be wiser than his ancestral Totem, imposed on an unwilling people innovations which in every case were strenuously resisted. That they were endured at all, and eventually achieved some measure of popularity, is invariably due to this that the usurper, however much disliked, appeared and indeed was, at worst a necessary evil to people engaged in aggressive war. Where there has never been any war, as among Wallace's Malays, or even where the wars were not sufficiently long continued and important to destroy the ancient sentiment of liberty within limits set by custom, as among the Eskimos, no government has ever been established. On the other hand, almost all nations which have a government trace its formal establishment to a period when war had resulted in the acquisition of multidinous slave or serfs, domestic enemies against whom rigorous statutes like those which bear the name of Lycurgus, appeared, however, irksome, to be very needful. Concerning the merits of the innovations in which government begins, we must say of them what we have said of all laws. Useful for the purpose of enabling those whom they oppressed to enslave others, there is no reason to question that they were. Nor do I doubt that in what our fathers called the dispensations of Providence, and what we are learning to call "the essential beneficence of Things" as shown by the law of evolution, aggressive wars have served a function, by securing the victory of the strongest races, which are also the most improveable. But for purposes such as modern humanity ventures to acknowledge, these laws were good only when they emancipated from slavery to preexisting customs. The Mosaic legislation, to illustrate, was good, when it released a tribe of nomads from the old Semitic obligations of sacrificing their first-born to the divine king, Moloch, and of prostituting their daughters to the service of Ashtor-Chemosh. We can hardly say as much for it, when it made punishable with death the beautiful spiritual worship of going into a high place to pray, because worshippers of Ashtor found high places convenient for those peculiar rites to which the surrounding country was invited by right of a "standard (*ashera*) on the top of a mountain and an ensign on a hill." As to democracy, it began with a reassertion of the people's right to govern themselves, but compromised with that necessity for tyrants which tyranny itself had introduced, by transferring power from hereditary kings and nobles to the majority in the public agora, or their elective officers.

The fundamental usurpation which makes all others possible, is, however, "the subjection of women" by men. It is the disgrace of our species, for it is peculiar to us. All other animals treat their females with deference. The first use man made of his brains was to perceive that women could be rendered useful as slaves. That veracious navigator, Lemuel Gulliver, relates that, when he was in the country of the Honyhumhus, that Honyhumhu whom he calls his master told him there were three things which marked the Yahoos (men) as the vilest of all creatures. One was that they are the dirtiest. Another was that among them alone the males would fight with the females; and for the third I must refer the reader to Gulliver's "Travels." Gulliver thought that if hogs had existed in that country, he might have defended his species against the first of these charges; but for the other two he could only admit that they were just. Men enslaved women first, chiefly for beasts of burden. A savage knows little about love, and will sell his wife as readily as "his servant or his maid, his ox or his ass, or anything else that is his." But a savage is not incapable of lust; and at a very low stage it plays an important part in determining the subjection of women. The female sex, among all animals, is less amorous than the male. I admit this sounds very like a stock assertion; nay, that it requires qualification. Nothing is harder than to distinguish degrees of feeling. By subjective introspection it is not even possible. This is why so much of Lecky's great work on the "History of Morals" is confused and inconsequential. But some measure for feeling may be obtained objectively—from its effects. Judging by this test, it is not difficult to see that desire is more habitual and continuous in males than females; and we can even see why it must be. Not only is it interrupted by critical periods in the weaker sex; but unless it were they could never be mothers; and unless it were not thus intermittent in the males, the opportunity for conception would frequently be lost. As either result must tend to extinction of a race, natural selection guarantees the greater amativeness of males. In Darwin's volume on "Sexual Selection" the operation of this important principle is traced thru the entire animal kingdom. Among every species we find the male the wooer. Everywhere the female, like an occasional queen of beauty among ourselves, is beset by lovers. The choice of mate and the times of association are altogether with her. Among our own enlightened species, however, wives, until quite an advanced stage of social evolution were bought outright; and after that, all the satirists may be appealed to for proof that until very lately indeed a girl's business was merely to "catch a husband," no matter whom. She had no choice, unless she were a great belle. The man chose the woman. Hence, we have observed, the remarkable fact that our species is the only one among whose members the females surpass the males in beauty. A great deal can be inferred from this. It shows how largely sensuality determined law. Nature strove hard against the unnatural perversion. The beard is evidently a sexual ornament, and its increase among the higher races of men compared with the lower is probably due to their greater esteem for women. But, not to ramble from our main topic—the subjection of women must necessarily be a fruitful cause as well as an obvious consequence of incontinence.

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

modern examples—Briggs is clearly not the eponymous hero, but the real founder of Briggsville; while such a monstrosity as Rhodesia, tho possible now, would be sure mark of eponymy if it had been attributed to a Rhodes in the age of the Colossus.

(10.) The extreme conservatism of human beings about every practise not so pernicious that experience has forced them into changing it, is among very recent demonstrations of antiquarians. Thus, those counting-out rhymes by which children choose the principal player at such games as blind man's buff, tho very much corrupted, go back to the hoariest antiquity. The practise of playing with dolls, on which special studies have recently been published, is a relic of fetish worship, whose persistency among children illustrates both their resemblance in character to adult barbarians, their ancestors, and also the persistency of custom in their society, which is less affected than grown people's by the progress of knowledge. Love of dolls frequently appears among grown persons as a degenerate trait—with idiots, dotards, and some congenitally vicious persons; and its various phrases of manifestation—the monster dolls of China and other Asiatic countries, the indecent dolls (masculine) which we still occasionally see, and the beauty, continually improving, of feminine dolls—have all, to an archaeological eye, the most obvious parallels in idolatry.

(11) As concerns this important filiation of human conservatism upon the ape's instinctive imitation, consult Darwin's "Descent of Man," and "Expression of the Emotions."

AGENTS FOR FREE SOCIETY.

The following named persons will receive and receipt for subscriptions fo FREE SOCIETY.

ALLEGHENY Pa.—H. Bauer 73 Springgarden Ave.
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—M. Kisluck, 1108 Baltic Ave.
BOSTON—K. A. Snellenberg, 31 Beech Glen St., Roxbury.
BROOKLYN.—M. Metzkow, 174 Ralph St.
CHICAGO—T. Appel, 1228 Milwaukee Av.
CLEVELAND—E. Schilling, 55 Yeakel St.
COLUMBUS, Ohio—H. M. Lyndall, 416 E. Mound St.
LONDON, Eng.—T. Cantwell, 127 Ossulton St., N. W.
NEW YORK—A. Lopatiner, 180 Forsyth
PHILADELPHIA—Natasha Notkin, 242 N. Second St.

RECEIPTS.

Arbeiter-Lese-Zirkel, Milwaukkee, $10. S. S. Club, Philadelphia, $2. Mindlin, $2. Banduhn, $1.25 Steiger, Jones, Morris, Dandero, Kohlbeck, Griffith, Lipshitz, each $1. Clippinger, Schlesinger, Lang, Tannenbaum, Jorgensen, Robins, Dubin, Colombo, Kornblatt, Goldhaber, each 50c.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM.

By Peter Kropotkin.

(Translated from the Russian by David A. Modell—and revised by the author.)

CONTENTS:

I. Two Fundamental Tendencies in Society. The Kiship of Anarchism and the Popular Creative Tendency.

II. The Intellectual Movement of the Eighteenth Century: Its fundamental traits; the investigation of all phenomena by the scientific method. The Stagnation of Thought at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. The Awakening of Socialism: Its Influence upon the Development of Science. The Fifties.

III. Auguste Comte's Attempt to build up a Synthetic Philosophy. The causes of his failure. The religious explanation of the moral sense in man.

IV. The Flowering of the exact Sciences in 1856-62. The Development of the Mechanical World. Conception, embracing the Development of Human Ideas and Institutions. A Theory of Evolution.

V. The Possibility of a New Synthetic Philosophy. Herbert Spencer's Attempt and why it failed. The Method not sustained. A false conception of "The Struggle for Existence."

VI. The Causes of this Mistake. The Teaching of the Church: "the World is steeped in Sin." The Government's inculcation of the same view of "Man's Radical Perversity." The Views of Modern Anthropology upon this subject. The Development of forms of Life by the "Masses," and the Law. Its Twofold Character.

VII The place of Anarchism in Science. Its endeavor to formulate a Synthetic Conception of the World.—Its Object.

VIII Its origin How its Ideal is developed by the Natural-Scientific Method.

IX A Brief Summary of the Conclusions Reached by Anarchism; Law. Moral, ity. Economic Ideas. The Government.

X Continuation. Methods of Action. The Understanding of Revolutions and their Birth. The Creative Ingenuity of the People. Conclusion.

Price, 25 cents

Send orders to Natasha Notkin, 242 N. second St, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Chicago Martyrs: The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court; and Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab..... 25

BOOK LIST.

ALL ORDERS FOR THE FOLLOWING BOOKS RECEIVED AT THIS OFFICE.

Essays on the Social Problem.....H. Addis	05
The New Hedonism.....Grant Allen	05
Plain Words on the Woman Question..... "	05
God and the State.....Bakunin	05
The Same. London edition.....	10
Whitman's Ideal Democracy and Other Writings.....Helena Born	1.00
Love's Coming-of-Age. Edward Carpenter.....	1.00
Prodigal Daughter: or, The Price of Virtue.....Rachel Campbell	25
The Worm Turns.....V. de Cleyre	10
The Emancipation of Society from Government.....Dallan Doyle	05
Roosevelt, Czolgosz, and Anarchism.....Jay Fox	03
Crime and Criminals....C. Darrow	10
Realism in Literature and Art.."...	05
Hilda's Home. Cloth $1.....Rosa Graul	50
Moribund Society and Anarchy. Cloth 60c.....Jean Grave	25
Motherhood in Freedom..Harman	05
Origin of Anarchism....C. L. James	05
Government Analyzed.....Kelso	50
Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal.....Peter Kropotkin	05
Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles..... "	05
An Appeal to the Young..... "	05
Anarchist Morality..... "	05
Expropriation..... "	05
Field, Factory and Workshop.. "	45
Law and Authority..... "	05
Memoirs of a Revolutionist..... "	2.00
Mutual Aid, a Factor in Evolution..... "	2.00
Organized Vengeance..... "	03
Paris Commune..... "	05
The State: Its Historic Role..... "	10
The Wage System. Revolutionary Government..... "	05
Resist Not Evil. Cloth. Clarence S. Darrow.....	75
Social Democracy in Germany.....Gustave Landauer	02
History of the Commune. Cloth.....Lissagaray	75
Conduct and Profession,...Darraw	10
Wind-Harp Songs....J. Wm. Lloyd	1.00
The Economics of Anarchy.....Dyer D. Lum	25
Anarchy. (Is It All a Dream? Jas. F. Morton, Jr.)....Malatesta	10
A Talk about Anarchist Communism between two Workers... "	05
A Chambermaid's Diary.....Octave Mirbeau	50
God and Government: The Siamese Twins of Superstition...W. Nevill	05
The Deistic Pestilence...John Most	05
The Pyramid of Tyranny.....F. Domela Nieuweuhuis	05
Mating or Marrying, Which?.....W. H. Van Ornum	05
Evolution and Revolution...Reclus	05
Tolstoy.....Clarence S. Darrow	10
Pure Economy.....J. H. Rowell	10
Pages of Socialist History.....W. Tcherkesoff	30
The Slavery of Our Times. Cloth.....Leo Tolstoy	75
Our Worship of Primitive Social Guesses.....E. C. Walker	15
Revival of Puritanism..... "	10
Vice: Its Friends and Foes..... "	15
What the Young Need to Know "	10
The Ballad of Reading Gaol.....Oscar Wilde	10
Life Without a Master. 336 pp. Cloth $1.50.....J. Wilson	1.00
The New Dispensation. Cloth. "	1.50
The Coming Woman...Lillie White	05
Anarchism and Outrage.....	03
Anarchy on Trial.....	05

History of the French Revolution.

— BY —

C. L. JAMES.

An excellent history of the French Revolution, well written by one thoroly familiar with his subject. Special care has been exercised to give the facts as they are, the author not having made himself the champion of any faction.

Justice, Wilmington, Del., says of it:

It is concise; it is accurate; and above all, it deals with essentials; the author has entered into the spirit of the Revolution.

Azariah S. Root, librarian at Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, Ohio, says:

I was much interested in looking over the work. It seems to me to indicate careful study of the sources, and to be the work of one profoundly interested in democracy.

It is neatly printed from large type on good book paper, with a substantial binding. There are 343 pages, with an index and bibliographical epitome.

Price, bound in cloth, $1 postpaid; paper bound copies, 50 cents, 9 cents extra for postage. Send orders to

ABE ISAAK Jr., 407 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

A PHYSICIAN IN THE HOUSE.

IT IS THE BEST MEDICAL BOOK FOR THE HOME YET PRODUCED.

— BY —

DR. J. H. GREER.

IT HAS 16 COLORED PLATES SHOWING DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY

This book is up to date in every particular. It will save you doctor bills. It tells you how to cure yourself by simple and harmless home remedies. The book recommends no poisonous or dangerous drugs. It teaches simple common sense methods in accordance with Nature's laws. It does not endorse dangerous experiments with the surgeon's knife. It teaches how to save health and life by safe methods. It is entirely free from technical rubbish. It teaches prevention—that it is better to know how to live and avoid disease than to take any medicine as a cure.

It teaches how typhoid and other fevers can be both prevented and cured. It gives the best known treatment for La Grippe, diphteria, catarrh, consumption, appendicitis and every other disease. This book is not an advertisement and has no medecine to sell. It tells you how to live that you may prolong life. It opposes medical fads of all kinds and makes uncompromising war on vaccination and the use of anti-toxine. It has hundreds of excellent recipes for the cure of the various diseases. The chapter on painless midwifery is worth its weight in gold to women It has a large number of valuable illustrations. The "Care of Children' is something every mother ought to read. It teaches the value of air, sunshine, and water as medecines. This book cannot fail to please you. If you are looking for health by the safest and easiest means, do not delay getting the book. It is printed in clear type on good book paper, beautifully bound in cloth and gold letters. It has 800 octavo pages.

FORMERLY SOLD FOR $2.75. SEND ORDERS TO FREE SOCIETY.

MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY.

Translated from the French of

JEAN GRAVE

By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE

CONTENTS:

The Anarchistic Idea and Its Development.—Individualism and Solidarity.—Too Abstract.—Is Man Evil?—Property.—The Family.—Authority.—The Magistracy.—The Right to Punish and the Savants.—The Influence of Environment.—"The Country."—The Patriotism of the Governing Classes.—Militarism.—Colonization.—There are no Inferior Races.—Why We are Revolutionist.—As to What Means follow from the Principles.—Revolution and Anarchy.—The Efficacy of Reforms.—The Experimental Method.—What Then?—Anarchism and its Practicability.—The Unvarnished Truth.

The book is printed in large type, and consists of 176 pages.

Price, paper cover, 25c; bound 60c. Five copies $1.

Send orders to FREE SOCIETY.

FIELD, FACTORY AND WORKSHOP.

BY PETER KROPOTKIN.

This interesting work has now been published in a popular edition. No student of social and economical affairs can do without it.

The book contains the following chapters: The Decentralization of Industries.—The Possibilitits of Agriculture.—Small Industrial Villages.—Brain Work and Manual Work.—Conclusion.—Appendix

Price, paper cover, 40 cents, postpaid 45 cents.

Order from FREE SOCIETY.

COLLEGE of MEDICINE & SURGERY, Chicago

Four years Graded Course.
Laboratories fully equipped.
Abundance of Clinical Material.
FEES MODERATE.
Fall term opens in September
Write today for Catalog to

FLORENCE DRESSLER, M. D., Sec'y
245-247 Ashland Ave., Chicago, Ill.